ADDRESS

HON. JOHN S. PRESTON,

Commissioner from South Carolina to the Vir ginia Convention, Feb. 9, 1861. MR PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CON VENTION: I have the honor to present to you

my credentials as Commissioner from the Goverument of South Carolina to the Couvention of the people of Virginia. On these credentials being duly received by you, I am instructed by my Government to lay before you the causes which induced the State of South Caroline to withdraw from the United States, and resume the powers heretofore delegated by her to the Federal Government of the United States of America.

In performing this duty. I desire to announce to you that it is no part of my purpose, nor is it the wish of my Government, that I should make an argument before you in proof of the right of secession. My Government has assumed that right in her sovereign capacity, and my ministry here is to recite the causes which slie has deemed sufficient to enforce upon her the necessity of exercising that right

I will therefore proceed to state the more prominent and immediate causes which have induced South Carolina to abrogate her consent to the Constitution of the United States. As preliminary to this statement, I would

say that, as early as the year 1820, the mani fest tendency of the General Government was to restrict the territorial expansion of the slaveholding States. That is very evident in all the contests of that period; and had they been successful to the extent that some hoped, even then, the line that cut off the purchases from France might have been projected Eastward to the bottom of the Chesapeak, and sent Virginia and half of Tennessee and all of Kentucky, Virginia proper, after she had given to non slavery her North-western empire, to the non-slavery section. That might be the line. The policy, however, has been pushed so far as to deprive this Southern section of that line of at least seven-tenths of the acquisitions of the Government. Besides this, I would state. as preliminary, that a large portion of the revenue of the Government of the United States has always been drawn from duties on imports. Now, the products that have been necessary to purchase these imports, were at one time almost exclusively, and have always mainly been, the result of slave labor, and therefore the burden of the revenue duties upon imports purchased by these exports must fail upon the producer, who happens also to be

the consumer of the imports. In addition to this, it may be stated at a very early period of the existence of this Government, the Northern people, from a variety of causes, entered upon the industries of manufacture and of commerce, but of agriculture scarcely to the extent of self support. This may have arisen from a variety of causes; among them, perhaps, an uncongenial climate, a barren soil, but a sea coast adapted to com merce, besides an inherent tendency upon the part of the people of these latitudes to the arts of manucraft and traffic. And while, therefore, it was important that all the sources of the revenue should be kept up to meet the increasing expenses of the Government, it also manifestly became of great importance that these articles of manufacture in which they have been engaged should be subject to the purchase of their confederates. They thereforce, invented a system of duties partial and discriminating, by which the whole burden of the revenue fell upon those who produced the articles of export which purchased the articles of import; and which articles of import were consumed mainly, or to a great extent, by those who produced the exports. The State of South oppressed by the operations of this system upon her, that she was driven to the necessity of interposing her sovereign reservation to arrest it, so far as she was concerned. This interposition, together with the rapid spread of the principle of free trade all over the world, did then presented. It could no longer be the avowed policy of the Gevernment to tax one section for the purpose of building up snother. But so successful had been the system; to such an extent had it already, in a few years, been pushed; so vast had been its accumulations of capital ; so vastly had it been diffused throughout its ramifications, as seemingly to interweave the industries of the sections almost into the life of each other. As mechanics manufacturers, shippers, merchants, bankers and in all the intermediary pursuits, the Northro peo ple seemed to have become almost necessary to the maintainance of the industry of the South. In these relations they had crept into every crevice of an afficent and loose economy, an made themselves so convenient to it, that we began to think them vital to it; and they grow so great and waxed so strong, as they feel and fattened on this sweating giant of the South, that, with the insolence natural to sudden and bloated power, they began to claim that the tary. They have drawn from us subsidies which might have glutted the averice of a Roman Processul, which, in one quarter of a sentury have builded up powerful cities, vivaling in wealth the richest marts of the Old World, and burdening every sen with their commerce and which have covered their granite soil with give breath to such tounest there was not figm palaces and smiling gardene. And yet, strange earth enough there for one such counsellor to nomelous as it may appear, it is nevertheles literally true, that while they were thus gath. ering all their wealth and power from this

between slavery and anti-slavery. This is the

declared that the institution of slavery, as it exists in the Southern States, is an offence to God, and thefore they are bound, by the most sacred duty of man, to exterminate that institution. They have declared and acted upon the declaration that the existence of slavery in the Southern States is an offence and a danger to the social institutions of the Northern States, and therefore they are bound, by the instinct of moral right and of self-preservation, to exterminate slavery.

Impelled by these sacred duties to God and their consciences, and by the scarcely less hinding impulses of self-protection-after years of earnest labor and devotion to the purpose they sve succeeded, by large majorities in all the non-slaveholding States, in placing the entire Executive power of the Federal Government in the bands of those who are pledged by their obligations to God-by their obligations to the social institutions of man-by their obligations of self preservation-to place the institution of slavery in a sourse of certain and final extinction. That is, twenty mil lions of people, holding one of the strongest Governments on earth, are impelled by a perfeet recognition of the most sacred and power ful obligations which fall upon man, to exterminate the vital interests of eight millions of people, bound to them by contiguity of territory and the closest political relation. In other words, the decree inaugurated on the 6th of November, was the annihilation of the people of the Southern States. Now, gentlemen, the people of South Carolina, being a portion of those who come within the ban of istence worth a struggle! Their answer is given in the ordinance I have had the horor to

I see before me wise and learned men, who have observed and sounded the ways of human life in all its records, and many who have been chief actors in some of its greatest scenes. ask them if, in all the love of human society, they find a case parallel to this! South Carolina has 300,000 whites, and 400,000 slaves. The whites depend on their slaves for their order of civilization and their existence. 20,000,000 of people, with a powerfully organized Government, and impelled by the most sacred duties, decree that this slavery must be exterminated. I ask you, Virginiana, is right. is justice, is existence worth a struggle !

Now, gentlemen, notwithstanding these facts have endeavored to group before you, notwithstanding this labor, this long suffering, this patience I have endeavored to show you she has practiced, throughout this whole land, over all Christendom, my State has been accused of "rash precipitancy." Is it rash precipitancy to step out of the pathway when you hear the thunder-crash of the falling avalanche? Is it rash preceipitancy to seek for shelter, when you hear the hissing of the coming tempest, and see the storm cloud close

down upon you? Is it rash precipitancy to raise your hands to protect your heart? I venture to assert that never, since liberty came into the institutions of man, have a people borne with more patience, or forborne with more fortitude, than have the people of these Southern States, in their relations with their confederates. As long as it was merely silly fanaticism or prurient philanthropy which proposed our destruction, we did nothing, scarcely complained. Even when partial and most or-pressive taxations, continued for years, ground us into the dust of poverty, save for a noment of convulsive struggle, we bore it patiently; even when many of our confederates, by State and municipal regulations viola ted previsions of our compact vital to us, hor der of their people, under the sanction of these regulations, robbed our property and murd red our citizens; even when, under the Carolina being at the time one of the largest same sauction, bands of wild fanatics invaded they will hear the stately tramp as of a mighty exporters and consumers of imports, was so slave States and prolaimed the destruction of slavery, by the annihilation of the slaveholder. and States and cities erected shrines to the memory of the felone; when one confederate denanded that we must be driven from the civilization of the age in which we live, and another sent its chief Representative to defame arrest the iniquity in the shape in which it was us before the civilized world-beneath all these enormities we continued to give our blood our gold and our sweat, to build up the grandeur and maintain the power of the Republic and when there was added to this all that baffled avarice, malignant fanaticism and moral turpitude could device, to vilify, wrong and spritate us, we still gave our blood and treasure and offered our hands, and called them brothren. I draw, no fancy picture, I use no de clamstory assertion. There is not a man in this Convention who may not cite twenty cases to meet every item of this catalogue. But when at last this fanaticism and eager haste for rapine mingling their foul purposes, engendered those fermenting millions who have seized the Constitution and disturbed its most sacred form into an Instrument for our ruin, why then, longer submission seatned to us not only base cowardies, but absolute fatury. 'r South Carolina we felt that, to remain one hour under such a domination, we would merit the destruction earned by our own folly and baselaboring monster was created for their tribu- ness; was feel that if there was one son of a Ceroline sire, who would connect such submission, there was not a bill-side or a plain, from Entaw to the Cowpens, from which the spirit of his offended sire would not start forth to shame him from the land he deserrited. We did not find wir enough in that Hills State to

stand upon.

I pray you, gentlimen of Virginia, to parcourse, step by step, lather sain interior with this aggregation there was going up a determined purpose to destroy these societies of their pair of and franchem. I become a to explain it: I relate it as history. This gentlemen, brings me to be proximited assist which it is not mission into lay before you. Or ficerly thirty years the people of the non-develoiding States here assisted is instituted of African classes; a because the proximited of the non-develoiding States here assisted in institution of African classes; and the localitation of the wildest handles appeared to the localitation of the wildest handles appeared to the localitation of the wildest handles appeared to the localitation of the wildest handless appeared to the localitation of the localitat ering all their wealth and power from this don me for referring with some pertecularity source, step by step, lates and laters, with this to the position of my flints in compected with aggregation. There was going up a determined purpose to destroy these sources of those power and or and are much perfect. I am here as and are much perfect. I am here as

is not armed, standing ready to resist to the death. We are very small-very weak-but if that freetorm with hich we are threatened should fall upon us and consume us, hereafter the pilgrim of liberty, perhaps from this State. who may be searching beneath the ruins of Charleston, will find the skeleton of our sen-

tinel standing at our sea gute.

Believe at not, sir, that in taking this posiion, we have been forgetful of the past, or reckless of the future. No, sir! it is the great past, and our sacred obligations to the future, which have nerved us to the act. It was the splendor of the past which dazzled our eyes, ontil the substance of liberty had almost alipped from our grasp. For years and years we saused as we held up the curtain and gazed back on the unforgotton glories of the hallow ed past, as we beheld that fairest temple in which liberty had ever found a shrine-that which Washington and Jefferson, Adams and Franklin. Henry, and Madison, the Lees, Maons, Rutledges and Pinckneys, a conclave of demi-gods, had builded up as a tabernacle for us to dwell in forever, and consecrated it with the blood of our own fathers-that citadel of iberty-that palladium of human right-that precious muniment of human hope-that reluge of hope, all over the earth-that world, won from the wilderness to God and liberty Sir, with pious reverence, we looked upon all lown-with these feet, we trampled it out of life-with this breath, we scattered the fragnents on the winds-and, yet, we do not tremole-we are not appalled. Our hands are unthis decree, had only to ask themselves-is ex- stained, pure, clear, unterrified, as we raise them in confident appeal to the God of Truth Justice and Right. Armed in this panoply, we drop the curtain and are ready to move ouward through the coming scenes of this solemn Gentlemen of Vir inia, the people of these

louthern States are no noisy faction, clamor-

ing for place and power-no hungry rabble. answering in blood to every appeal to brutal passion-no shouting mob, ready, to take for heir Government a glittering epigram, or a ustian theory. They are not canting fanatica. estering in the licentiousness of abolition and malgamation. Their liberty is not a painted trumpet straggling through the streets. Nor does their truth need to baptise itself in pools of blood. They are a grave, calm, prosperous religious people—the holders of the most ma-jestic civilization—the inheritors, by right, of he fairest estate of liberty-fighting for that liberty-fighting for their fathers' grave-stan ding athwart their hearth-stones, and before their chamber-doors. In this fight, for a time, my little State stood slone-that little State, around whose outermost borders the guns fired at the Capital might almost be heard-whose scope of sky is scarce large enough for one star to glittee in-so small-so weak-so few. We began this fight, alone, against millions; and had millions been piled on millions, under God, in such a fight, we would have triumphed. But, sir, that God cares for liberty, truth and right among His people; and we are no longer alone. Our own children, from Florida and Alabama, answered to the mater nal call-and our great sister, Goergia, marshalled forth her giant progeny. The voice of Quitman came up out of his grave on the Mississippi-and Louisiana proved herself the offspring of the "Apostle of Liberty." And, now, young Texas raises her giant form and takes her place at the head of this majestic column of Confederating Sovereignties. And. sir, wherever Virginia has a son beyond her borders, his voice is known; because he speaks n the ancient tongue of his mother. Mr. President, I. one of the humblest of these sons. have told my adopted brethren, I have promised them, that before the Spring grass grows long enough to weave a chaplet of triumph host of men- a sound, as if the armies of above that host a banner, whose whole history is one blaze of glory, and not one blot of shame and coming up from that bost, they will hear one voice, aye, like their own-one voice only—the resounding echo of that voice which first thundered into the hearts of your God-like sires, "Given me liberty, or give me leath"-and on that banner will be written the unsullied name of Virginia. The world knows her history, and knows no bustory above it in the niche of fame, and knowing it, none dare doubt whether Virginia will be, when her own offspring, Divine Liberty and Justice, call her to fight. My birth right, brothers-have I promised too much in the name of our mothof In us, the doubt would be worse than blasphemy. She will take her place in the front rank. She will be, as she has been for one hundred years, the foremost of the world in the cause of libersy. She will stand here with her uplifted arm, not only as a barrier, but the guiding star to an empire, etretching from her feet to the tropics, from the Atlantic to the Pacific grander in proportion strongor in power-freer in right than any which has preceded it-which will divide the rule of the Atlantic, he felt on the far heaving waves the Pacific, and will own the Gulf of Mexi-

or and the Carribon See.

Mr. President, I appear before you, in be half of a portion of those who believe in this hall of a portion of those who believe in this coming greatness, and who have, by gradel wrong and injustice, been driven from their inheritance in the injustry past; and I ask Vigginia to come, in the majorty of her suggest history, and the power of her courings and strength, and command this transceptions futures. them you were defined on the best desired.

We believe as a sempletely logical and reasonable deduction, from these repelless, stiributes of the Northern and Southern sections of the inte Confederacy, there have arises those

many of the States by legislative action, have six teen to sixty who can walk or stand, who people of the South as political and social reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and ever a majority refuses to be controlled by such equals. No gentlement never—never until by your power, your art and your virtue, you can unfix the unabangeable economy, of the Eternal God, can you make of the people. of the North and the people of the South one people. An irresist ble instinct of self-preservation has forced the cotton States to recognise this absolute and imperative diversity, and they are anw proceeding to erect their institutions on its present necessity. The Northern States are also manifesting their recognition of the same diversity by preparing, with the aid of the agents of non slavery, known as the Army and Navy of the United States, to attempt the subugation of the Southern States.

I believe the question to be decided by you, gentlemen, is, whether Virginia, like the trem bling Egyptian, will skulk for shelter beneath the crumbling fragments of a past greatness. to dwell under the scourge of a haughty, but mean task master: or whether she will step forth, and, with one voice, hush this storm of war, and keep the ancient glory of her name. The times must be far more distempered than now; indeed, prophecy dare not seek, for it can never reach that tuture, when Virginian

will hesitate to decide this question. Mr. Presidept, the people of South Carolin have declared in the language of the various compacts between them and their confeder ates, that they have always retained their sov this-and, yet, with these hands, we tore it creigntty and independence; that they, wi h their Confederates, did de legate certain nowers to a common agent: that, by their confeder ates, this compact has been violated, and the Government established under it has become destructive of the purposes for which it was established, and it is, therefore, their right to abolish that Government, so far as it concerns them, and institute another. They have solemnly ordained, and are now, and have f r sixty days, been maintaining that ordinance by arms-that all p litical connection with the Government of the United States is dissolved.

The admitted rule on which they have re sorted to arms is, "That a violation of a perfect right, either committed or committing, or with which a people is threatened in the future. jus tifies the undertaking of war-amicable mean baving been tried in vain, or when it is evident that it would be evident that it would be use lsss to try suc! means, justice requires a resort

On this rule, the people of South Carolina have resorted to arms in defence of a "perfect right."

As I have stated, they have maintained this position for a reasonable time, not withstanding their chief harbor has been blockaded, and their territory invaded ; they have maintained it in honor against falsehood and trenchery; they maintained it until five millions of people and six sovereign States have joined with them to form a government, in which, in the language or the eminent citizen who has been placed in the charge of the Executive Department of that Government, there can be doubt -that "coursge and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defence which our honor and security may require. Farther obstacles may retard the progress of that Government, but they cannot long provent the progress of movement sanctified by a virtuous people.-Reverently, let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which, by his bless ing, they were able to vindicate, establish and transmit to posterity; and with that continunnce of His favor ever gratefully acknowledged, we will hopefully look forward to success, peace and prosperity."

Believing the righte violated and the intereste involved, are identical with the rights and interests of the people of Virginia, and them in the protection of these rights and in-

Mr. President, I have performed my mission and do now, in the name of my Government, tender to this Convention the most cordial thanks for their honorable consideration of my mission; and is my own behalf. I offer to the Convention and the citizens of Virginia, my heartfelt gratitude for their nobla courtesy and most generous kindness to myself personally.

From the Columbia Associated Press Inaugural Address of President Inncoln.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1861. Fellow Citizens of the United States: - Incompliance with a custom, as old as the Government itself. I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the Uni-ted States, and to be taken by the President befor a he enters on the execution of his office. I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about to assense those matters of administration about which there is no special surflety or excit runner. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the doubern states that, by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and peace and personal security are to be en dangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension: Undesd, the most ample evidence to the contrary brasell the while existed, and been open to their, imageriton, it is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that I have ne purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfese with the institution of sharings in the flates, where it impure exists and believe I have no have a right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elevate made this and many other similes declarations, and had never recented them; and, more than this, they phased in the platform for my acceptants, as a law to themselve and to me, the elear and emphasic resolution, invitate, which I now read. which there is no special auxiety or excitemen

of the rights of the Status, and aspecially the stitution has aver them denied? If by the right of each State, to order and control its own mere face of numbers a majority should denestic institutions seconding to its own judgments are justed, it should denied to its own judgments are justed, it should denied to its own judgments are justed to its own judgment of power on which the perfection and endurance of power on which the perfection and endurance of power on which the perfection and endurance of its own justify a revolution. Laceraln't would, so passed to the country of the Control of the Cont power on which the perfection and endurance of the control of the property of

oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous cath? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced nal or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one; the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of hitle consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisbe not in any case surrendered as a slave, and might it not be well, at the same time, to proin the Constitution which guarantees that "the privileges and immunities of chizens in the several States."

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypocritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be en-forced. I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both m official and private stations, to conform to and shide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be nuconstitutional,

e naconstantional,
It is seventy two years since the first manguration of a President under our National Consti-tution. During that period, fifteen diffe ent and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession ernment. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success.
Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief Constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties. A decuption of the Federal Union, heretofore mentioned, is now formidaid, attempted I hold that in contemplation of Union of these State is perpetual. Perpetuity implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental hw of national Governments. It is safe to as-sert that no Government proper ever had a provisions in its organic law for its own termination Continue to execute all the extress provisions of our national Constitution and the Union will endure forever; it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument uself. Again, if the United States

not a Government proper, but an association states in the nature of contract merels, can it, as a contract, be practicably unmade by than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate in break it, so to speak, but does it not require all to lowfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find this proposition, that in legal complication the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Conatitution; it was formed in fact by the articles of association in 1774. It was matured and con tinud by the Declaration of Indeepndence in

these thirteen States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetual. The Articles of Confederation in 1778, and finally in 1787, one of the 'declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States. by one or by a part only of the States be hanfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before—the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity. It follows from these views
that no State, upon its own mere motion, can
lawfully go out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are against the authorny of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I, therefore, consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is tubroken, and to the extent of my ability, ion is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself ex pressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union he faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, I deem to be only a simple duty or and interests of the people of Virginia, and remandering their ancient amity, and their common glory, the people of South Carolina have instructed me to ask, earnestly and respectfully that the conditional processing their need be no bloodshed or violence. me will be user to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Gove name, and tocollect the daties and imports, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be up invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and so musual as to prevent compared, resident, estimus from holding year. vent competent resident citizens from boiding the F-deral officer, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise exist in the Government to emorre the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irrational, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego, for the time the uses of such offices. The mails, unless repelled, uses of such offices. The triaifs, unless repelled, will continue to be fornished in all, pures of the trinion. So far as possible, the people everywhere trioi. So far as possible, the people everywhere istell have that seems of perfect security which is most favorable to cool, thought and reflection.—The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and expensy, my best discretion will be exercised according to chemistances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of peace fall solution of the national troubles, and the reptaration or fraternal aymosthers fall affections ration of fraternal sympathics and affections ration of fraternal sympathics and arrottoms. That there are passens in one section or nucleir who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it. I will neither affirm or deny, but if there be such, it need adaffirm or deny, but if there be such, I need address no word to their. To those, however, who dress no word to their To those, however, who desire the Union, may I not speak before ntering upon so grave a matter as the destruc-

> be denied? I think not.
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> Happy the bottom in the Constitution has Happing the homen mad is so constituted. own training that hopewer can reach to the andacity of iloting this. Think, of a typic instance, in change either the it were admitted that you who are discattled had the right side in the who are discattled had the right side in the change either the in a lingle good reason for presentation, has avery been desired. If by the dispute, there is no single good reason for presentation of numbers a majority should decreased by the continue on him who has

minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily, secode again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to see ede from it! All who cherish disunion a ptiments, are non being educated to the exact temper of doing this

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union to promote harmony only, and prevent renewed secosion? Plainly the central idea of secession is the essemes of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does of necessity, fly to anarchy or despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of minority, as a permanent pragment, is wholly inadmissable; so nent 'rrangement, is wholly innumerate, so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form, is all that is left, I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided that constitutional questions are to be that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court. Nor do I deny that such decissions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit. As to the object of that suit, while the are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Govern-ment: and while it is obviously resulted that ment; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following its being limited to meet that particular case, with the limited to meet that particular case, with the chance that it may be over ruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time the candid citizen must confess that, if the policy of the Governmust contess that, if the policy of the trovern-ment upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Courts, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between partles in personal actions, the people will have to be their own rulers, naving to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent to unal. Nor is there in this view, any assault upon the court and judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases of property brought be-fore them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purpores. One section of our country believes slave ry is right and ought to be extended, while the other be leves it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute, As to the fugitive above clause of the Constitu tion and the law for the suppression of the forever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperiently supports the law itself, the great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over each. I think these cannot be perfectly cared, and it would be worse in both cases, after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade is now imperfeetly superessed, and would be ultimately reforcitive slaves, now only partially succepdered wanta not be surrentered at all by the orner. Physically speaking, we cannot separate—we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be di coreed, and go out of the presence and beyond he reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this They cannot but termain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between It was further matured and the faith of all them. Is it possible, tien, to make that inter-course more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced tween aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight al-ways, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old question, as to terms of inter course are again upon you. This country, with identical old question, as to terms of inter-course are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, below a to the people who in-habit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise the Constitutional right to amend it, or the revolu tionary right to demember of overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make ecognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in eith er of the modes presented in the instrumen itself, and I should under existing croumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportuni-ty being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention will venture to and that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people them selves, instead of only permitting them to take or repel propositions originated by others not

especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution, which amendment, however, I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the Fed. eral Government shall never interfere with the dom stic institutions of the States, including dom stic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service.

To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be the implied construction of the law, I have no objection to its being made express and irevocable. The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conf. rred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States.

The people themse was can do this also if they The people themse ves can do this also if they choose, but the Executive, as such has nothing to do with it; his duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hand, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any butter or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? May the Almighty Ruler of nations with his elemant truth, be on your side of the North, or on some of the South. That truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribinal, the American people. By the form of coverament under which we live. the form of coverement under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that fittle to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain the virtue and vigilance, in administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seri-rionely injure the Government in the short to nemories, is hopes! Would it not be what it is nemories, is hopes! Would it is will you had an except why we do it. Will you had an except a step, while there is any possibility that any portion of the ill's ou fly from have no real said-neaf Will you white the certain ills you fly so are greater than all the real office you fly from will you risk the commission of so fearful a matak. I All profession to be southed in the Union, if all constitutional to be subject as the which you would never take deliberably; that object will be frust atted by, taking time. But no good object as ho rights out be maintained. Is it true, then, that frustrated by it. Such of you as are desausting light, phony written in the Constitution has find etill, have the old Constitution unimpaired. and on the senautve point the laws of your own framing under it, when the new adminis trutton will been no remedy, if it should

continguatered in Heaven to degree the Gov-erunga, while I shall have the most solution one to preserve, protect and defend it. I am lette to preserve, protect and defend it.

The Abbebille Press.

ABBEVILLE, S. C.

W. A. LEE, EDITOR.

Friday Morning, March 8. 1861.

The friends of CAPT. JESSIE JAY. aunounce him as a Candidate for MAJOR of the Lower Battalion of the Eighth Regiment

THE PEACE CONFERENCE. As all expected, the Peace Conference at Washington failed in effecting anything satisfactory to the South. The Conference adjourned on the 27th ult . sine die. We would direct the attention of purchasers

advertisement of Messrs. Black & FRANKLIN. of Cokesbury, who now offer a large stock of goods at prices to suit the times. Give them an early call. ATLANTA MEDICAL COLLEGE.

We would direct especial attention to the advertisement of the Atlanta Medical. This college affords every facility, and deserves the paronage of the Southern people.

MAJOR ANDERSON. Washington, March 5 -Major Anderson up the 4th inst., has continued to speak of his condition as safe. He expresses the opinion

that reinforcement had better not be sent to

ARKANSAS FOR SECESSION. We presume there is no further doubt about the State of Arkansas secoding from the United

States, and joining the Confederate States .-This will enlarge the scope of our Territory, add much to our strength as a nation. MILITARY ELECTIONS.

The following is the result of the recent elecon for F eld Officers in the Seventh Regiment South Carolina, Volunteers in Abbeville und Edgefield Detricts: Colonel-THOMAS BACON, of Edgefield.

Lt. Colonel-R. A. FAIR, of Abbeville. Major-EMMET SEIBLES, of Edgefield.

LIEUT. COLONEL.

We are pleased to announce to our readers hat R. A. FAIR, Eq., of our Village, has been elected to the office of Lt. Colonel, in the Serouth Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers. n Abbeville and Edgefield District. He is just the man to fill the office, and we know that no better selection could have been made.

NORTH CAROLINA ELECTIONS.

The accounts of the recent elections in North Carolina are so contradictory that we are unable to form a correct idea of the result. We fear, however, that "Old Rip" has not been sufficiently aroused to a sense of her danger to throw off the yoke of Black Republican rule.

THE POSTAGE ACT. It will be seen by reference to the Postage days ago, that the rates of postage has been onsiderably increased. Postage on letters will be five cents instead of three cents, as under the old regime. Postage on papers published weekly within the State 61 cents per quarter in advance. Daily papers six times that

amount. See the Act in full on our first page. HON. J. S. PRESTON'S SPERCH. We have the pleasure this week of presentng to our readers the address, in part, of Hon. JOHN S. PRESTON, our Commissioner to the Virginia Convention. It has received the highest encomiums from all who have seen and read it, and we feel satisfied that none of our read-

ers will fail to give it a perusal. LINCOLN'S CABINET.

Secretary of State-W. H. SEWARD, of New

Secretary of Treasury, -S. P. CHASE, of Secretary of War-Simon Camenon, of Penn-

sylvania. Secretary of Nany-S. WELLS. Secretary of Interior-C. SMITH, of Indiana. Post Master General-M. BLAIR, of Mary-

SALE DAY.

About the usual number were in attendance last Sale Day. Considerable property was exposed to sale, and was bid off at reduced prices. The valuable house and lot of Mr. H. T. Tusten, was sold for the sum of \$2,060, at 60 days time-Mr. W. James Lowax; the purchase er. This house and lot would have brought more than double that amount six or eight months ago. . A like negro women about twenty years, with her child four years of sge. was sold for \$1,200, cash. Other negroes were sold about the same proportion.

OUR COURT. This week our Court is in session, his Henor, Judge GLOVER presiding. The Judge, with his usual courtesy to the Bar, dispatches the business in a speedy manner. The old business of the Court together with the news will ecoupy the cotire week. We have very few State ca. es, and these of not much importance. The elicitor, Hon. J. P. REED, will have but lit-

We have had fine weather during the prescht week', except a few March winds The attentianca.was shoul the naual sumber, and was noted for its ususual sobracty and orderly con-

duct.
W notice the following visiting frembers of W notice he following visiting members of the Bar from the adjoining Districts. Of P. Sullivan and H. L. McGowan, of Lawrence enery Suspension and Jone Paran Booms, of Audition; P. Norton, of Pickens.

IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

Wassingros, March 4 10 a m. Southern men, without distinction of party, regard Lin-coln's inaugural as a declaration of war.

Hon. John Bell says that he divises Tonishe tee to prepare for war as the wirest mis preventing it wither Cooksahe of How Enth. and many Northern Democrate, with some of the "councryative" Republicans speak ex-

press similar tiews. autung the parificators, owing to Butes having thated, unofficially, in the proteins of diversity to be the proteins of the pr

Stain Arrived this morning, and took private quarters. He will await the arrival of his solleaguest. Noticely believes him the services of the commencer with respect to the commencer with the property of the commencer with the commenc